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ABSTRACT

The objective of this study is to provide local law enforcement agencies with guidelines for the collection and dissemination of elements of information required for sound decision making in response to the threat or actual initiation of collective violence. Informal, semi-structured interviews in fourteen selected cities and six State police departments with law enforcement officials who have been, or are likely to be, acting in a key, decision making capacity during an episode of collective violence were conducted to develop recommendations. Four steps were followed: literature survey, consultation with a panel of active law enforcement specialists, field survey, and analysis, interpretation, and review of data. That research resulted in this document, one in a series of five, which outlines for the Patrol Personnel the need for guidelines, purpose of guidelines, methods of preparation, basic propositions, discussion of terms, information requirements for prevention and control, planning, training, operation, and evaluation of programs to prevent and control collective violence. Related documents are directed to chiefs of police (CE 000 820), community relations personnel (CE 000 821), intelligence personnel (CE 000 822), and patrol commanders (CE 000 823). (KP)

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PREVENTION AND CONTROL OF COLLECTIVE VIOLENCE

Volume V

Guidelines for Patrol Personnel

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
Law Enforcement Assistance Administration
National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice

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CRIMINAL JUSTICE RESEARCH

PREVENTION AND CONTROL OF COLLECTIVE VIOLENCE

Volume V

Guidelines for
Patrol Personnel

By
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June 1973

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
Law Enforcement Assistance Administration
National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice

ABSTRACT

This project produced a set of operational guidelines for police activities to prevent and control collective violence. The guidelines are based on the techniques and experiences of 14 city police departments and 5 state law enforcement agencies. The guidelines focus on the information required by police for planning, training, operations, and evaluation of both prevention and control measures.

Separate volumes of guidelines were prepared for officers who serve as Chief of Police, Community Relations Personnel, Intelligence Personnel, Patrol Commanders, and Patrol Personnel.

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PREFACE

This document constitutes one volume of the final report under LEAA Grant Award NI 71-097-G. The complete series of five volumes is designed to meet contractual requirements and provide an archival record for the interested law enforcement science community, and also to serve as operationally useful manuals in providing information and guidance to the various police decision-makers.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Because of the nature of this project, many individuals were involved in, and contributed to, its success. Mr. George Shollenberger of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration served as the award monitor during the last half of the award period. Mr. Adrian Jones, also of LEAA, served in the capacity during the first half.

A panel of law enforcement specialists selected by LEAA made a much appreciated contribution to the report. They provided a substantive review and criticism of the preliminary draft as well as guidance in adapting the study methods to the needs of the police. The consultants included: Winston Churchill, Chief of Police, Indianapolis; Arthur Grubert, Assistant Chief Inspector, Intelligence Division, New York City Police; John Knox, Chief, Patrol Division West, Los Angeles; Dr. Peter Lejins, Director, Institute of Criminal Justice and Criminology, University of Maryland; and Colonel Ray Pope, Director, Department of Public Safety for the state of Georgia.

The cooperation of the many police officers in the 14 cities and 6 state police departments visited during the data collection effort is greatly appreciated. Without their cooperation and assistance, this report would not have been possible.

The project team for Operations Research, Inc. (ORI) was headed by Mr. Richard L. Knoblauch, project manager and co-author of this report, and Mr. W. Thomas Callahan, senior author of this report. Dr. Lynn Llewellyn, formerly with ORI, was project manager during the early stages of the project. Administrative support and guidance was provided by Mr. Donald W. Walter, Program Director. Mr. Michael Brown of the ORI technical staff provided assistance in the reorganization and rewriting of the preliminary draft. The authors would particularly like to thank Mrs. Roberta Thompson for her patient assistance in typing and editing the report.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PATROL PERSONNEL

		Page
	ABSTRACT	ii
	PREFACE	iii
	ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iv
I.	INTRODUCTION	1-1
	NEED FOR GUIDELINES	1-1
	PURPOSE	1-1
	METHODS OF PREPARATION	1-2
	BASIC PROPOSITIONS	1-3
	DISCUSSION OF TERMS	1-5
	INFORMATION REQUIREMENTS FOR PREVENTION AND CONTROL	1-8
	Locations of CV; Reasons for CV; Time Considerations in CV; Persons Involved in CV; Types of CV Events; Ways in Which CV Occurs	
	OUTLINE OF THE REMAINDER OF THIS VOLUME	1-19
II.	INTRODUCTORY NOTES FOR PATROL PERSONNEL	2-1
III.	PLANNING	3-1

PLANNING FOR PREVENTION 3-2

Potential Locations of CV; Reasons for CV Prevention; Times When CV May Occur; Persons Who May be Involved in CV

PLANNING FOR CONTROL 3-3

Locations of CV; Reasons for CV

IV. TRAINING 4-1

TRAINING FOR PREVENTION 4-2

Potential Locations of CV; Reasons for CV Prevention; Persons Who May be Involved in CV; Ways in Which CV May Develop

TRAINING FOR CONTROL 4-2

Locations of CV; Persons Involved in CV

V. OPERATIONS 5-1

OPERATIONS FOR PREVENTION 5-2

Potential Locations of CV; Reasons for CV Potential; Times When CV May Develop; Persons Who May be Involved in CV; Events Which May Lead to CV; Ways in Which CV May Develop

OPERATIONS FOR CONTROL 5-5

Locations of CV; Reasons for CV; Persons Involved in CV; Ways in Which Violence Occurs

VI. EVALUATION 6-1

EVALUATION OF PREVENTION 6-2

Suggested Evaluation Criteria; Potential Locations of CV; Reasons for CV Potential; Times When CV May Occur; Persons Who May be Involved in CV; Events Which May Lead to CV; Ways in Which CV May Develop

EVALUATION OF CONTROL 6-5

Reasons for CV; Persons Involved in CV

I. INTRODUCTION

NEED FOR GUIDELINES

While massive civil disorders and violent protest demonstrations have become less frequent in this country over the past year, these and other acts of collective violence continue to threaten public safety and security. Incidents involving ambushes and assaults of police and other public safety personnel, bombings of public and private property, and various types of violent confrontations between police and organized groups persist. This indicates that, while smaller in scope and somewhat less visible, collective violence must continue to be dealt with as a serious national problem. Furthermore, the possibility that massive disturbances will erupt in the future cannot be ignored.

Perhaps the strongest assurance that occurrence of collective violence can be minimized, and that the dangerous effects of such incidents can be reduced rests with the continual improvement of the capabilities of law enforcement agencies. Police departments are increasingly successful in detecting and resolving conflicts before violence erupts, and when it does erupt, in safely containing the situation. The guidelines presented in the volume are intended to strengthen law enforcement agencies in their performance of these tasks.

PURPOSE

The development of these guidelines has been based upon descriptions of prevention and control practices which have already been implemented, and with which some success has already been achieved. The information contained in this volume was obtained from personnel in 14 city police departments and six state law enforcement agencies. Since such a sample does not support

broad generalizations concerning the most appropriate actions to be taken by police across the country, the appropriateness of the guidelines must be judged by each reader based upon his own circumstances and requirements. While some departments and agencies may discover little of value here, it is likely that others will be able to apply these guidelines to their needs for improved planning, training, operations, and evaluation pertinent to their collective violence problems. It should be emphasized that this volume is intended to provoke thoughts and introduce ideas and it in no way intends to stifle initiative.

METHODS OF PREPARATION

The development of these guidelines consisted of five steps.

a. A review was made to identify literature pertinent to topics of collective violence and the police role in prevention and control of CV.

b. A two-day seminar on police methods and organization was held in which four high-ranking police officers and a university professor of criminology—all of national repute—discussed questions of interest to the police regarding CV.

c. A survey of 14 police departments was made in cities with populations between 40,000 and 2,000,000 in the Northeast, Southeast, North Midwest, South Midwest, and Southwest United States; the survey consisted of 120 interviews. Wherever possible, the Chief of Police, intelligence, detective, community relations, patrol and communications personnel were contacted in each city. Although unstructured, the interviews were designed to elicit all information concerning how each department prepared for CV, what actions were taken during CV, and what daily operations were underway to prevent CV. Approximately 190 hours were devoted to interviewing police personnel in the cities.

d. Similar interviews were conducted with members of six state law enforcement agencies to determine how these organizations support local agencies with regard to CV control and prevention. This state agency survey was limited to high ranking officers—a total of 20 nation-wide.

e. A compilation of all descriptions of police decisions and information requirements in support of decision-making culminated in the preparation of the written guidelines which are presented in this document.

BASIC PROPOSITIONS

Certain basic views held by the writers of the guidelines will be observed in the tone and orientation of this volume. These views were developed during the review of the literature at the beginning of the study, and during the interviews which were conducted with police officers. They are listed here to demonstrate that the writers make no pretense of being completely objective.

a. Collective violence is apparently the result of growing tension among groups of communities. The growth of tension can be observed, over a period of time, by police in the performance of their normal duties. Following investigation and analysis of reports and behavior which indicate tension, police can take a number of actions which can serve, in some situations, to prevent violence. Prevention of collective violence in every case, however, is probably not possible.

b. All police officers are decision-makers in the context of their own assignments, and all provide information upon which other officers and unit (precincts, departments, etc.) commanders can base their decisions. The flow of information within law enforcement agencies consists of reports which reflect not only criminal activity but also a wide range of other social conditions including those which may indicate tension.

c. During a CV situation, the primary objective of law enforcement agencies is to end violence and restore order as rapidly as possible, while at the same time minimizing personal injury, property damage, animosity toward police and the likelihood of additional violence.

d. After CV has begun, or when crowds with potential for CV have formed, policemen must achieve their objectives through disciplined teamwork in support of command decisions. As a result, while continuing to maintain law and order to the best of their ability, police may find it necessary to refrain from

making arrests or otherwise enforcing the law when such actions would break up the team effort or provide an opportunity for the escalation of violence. Commanders must make the decisions affecting the nature of police responses based on their estimate of each situation, although it may be said that police efforts should concentrate first on actions against persons who are endangering life (with deadly weapons, fire, etc.).

e. Law enforcement and peace-keeping, although they are the specific duties of police, are general responsibilities of all citizens.

f. Police provide not only law enforcement and peace-keeping services but a number of their services in support of public health, welfare, education, sanitation, etc. Police may find it useful to increase these additional services from time to time in order to decrease tension in the community. Such increased effort—clearly not a duty of police—may be particularly effective when other public and private organizations fail to take action to reduce tension.

g. It should also be emphasized that the writers made no evaluative judgments of police practices, which are described herein as "guidelines." Accordingly, some of the guidelines which are included may be found unnaceptable to specific readers.

These guidelines assume, furthermore, that in every law enforcement agency, an individual or individuals fills the roles to be described below. The titles attached to these roles are intentionally general, and may not exist in any given department's table of organization. In very large departments, these roles are divided into more specialized roles. Small law enforcement agencies may require that one or two officers perform the duties entailed in all of these roles.

Chief of Police (Sheriff, Colonel, etc.). The commander and administrator of all law enforcement and peacekeeping forces in a specific jurisdiction. Also, the Chief is the law enforcement officer directly responsible to the overall government administration in the jurisdiction, and the primary point of contact between his agency and other public service departments within the same jurisdiction. The Chief is also the major link with heads of other law enforcement agencies.

Community Relations Personnel. The police officers whose primary responsibilities consist of maintaining an accurate, positive image of the police department and police officers in the minds of citizens, and assisting police in understanding the community. They are not involved in law enforcement activities directly, but support the actions of other officers by attempting to create an atmosphere in which police effectiveness will be high. They interact directly with citizens face-to-face or indirectly through the mass media. Community relations officers may also enlist the assistance of other police officers in fostering and supporting community development and human relations programs.

Intelligence Personnel. These include officers who are specifically assigned to the support of decision-making by gathering, analyzing and disseminating information pertaining to potential or actual collective violence. These also include detectives or agents who, in the course of investigations of criminal offenses other than CV, may collect information pertaining to CV.

Patrol Commander. This category consists of commanders of patrol shifts and all police officers who serve as commanders of police during crowd control and CV control operations. It should be noted that no particular rank is implied by the title "patrol commander."

Patrol Personnel. This group of police officers, for the purposes of this volume, consists of officers whose primary duties involve patrol of streets and initial police response to illegal activity, complaints, or requests for assistance. Furthermore, this group includes officers who may not be assigned to patrol except during crowd control or CV control operations.

Separate guidelines have been prepared for each of these police roles. Readers of this volume may wish to read the others as well, since the roles of police in prevention and control of CV clearly overlap. Law enforcement officers whose duties may extend across several of the roles mentioned above may find it especially useful to read all of the volumes. Care was taken to state all guidelines as concisely as possible, in an effort to minimize the size, and thus facilitate the practical use of each volume.

DISCUSSION OF TERMS

a. Collective Violence—(a) any group activity which interrupts legal patterns of behavior and causes property damage or personal injury, or (b) any

activity of an individual or group which interrupts legal patterns of behavior and causes multiple incidents of property damage and personal injury.

b. Groups—Conceivably, any group has the potential of causing or becoming involved in CV. Most police efforts which were observed, however, have been keyed to preventing and controlling violence among the following:

1. Political Activists—persons who demonstrate their belief that the Federal, state, or local government, or a huge range of government policies, should be changed. This group potentially includes all Americans who may choose to exercise the right of assembly guaranteed by the First Amendment. Accordingly, this group cuts across all others which are mentioned below, and includes persons who favor or permit violence, although most are committed to non-violent action as a political tactic.

2. Students—Within the general area of campuses, students have protested the administration of their schools and various other political issues. By far, the majority have chosen to be non-violent, but some have employed violent methods including the use of lethal weapons.

3. Urban Minorities—The most striking cases of large-scale street violence has occurred among members of urban minority groups, especially urban blacks. The underlying causes of violence and the incidents which triggered these disturbances have been widely studied by police. Again, only a small percentage of urban minorities were connected with the disorders, and an even smaller number were actively violent.

4. Violent Extremists—Especially in recent years, a number of groups have developed which are openly dedicated to the use of any means, including violence, to achieve their goals. Most of these groups are small in any one community, but they may be linked to similar groups in other areas. They may or may not

have a well articulated political ideology on the far left or far right. They may be of a single race, ethnic or religious group, or a mixture of several. Bombings, ambushes, shoot-outs with police and planned destruction of property are tactics of these groups.

5. Labor Unions—Strikes, especially at very large factories or in the streets continue to present the potential for violence.

6. Gangs—Youth street gangs and motorcycle clubs, especially when rivalries between gangs develop, can generate violence, sometimes over an extended period.

7. Crowds—Persons drawn by various kinds of entertainment such as music concerts or athletic contests have, at times, become violent.

c. Prevention of Collective Violence—Prevention is the result of all actions taken by citizens, including police, in order to

1. Reduce tension among members of the community

2. Neutralize the influence of persons or groups who have expressed or demonstrated an inclination towards violence

3. Abort the planned violent activities of persons or groups

4. Protect, pacify or disperse crowds which may generate violence

5. Avoid triggering violence by intentional or inadvertant abuse of police authority.

d. Control of Collective Violence—Control is the result of all actions taken by citizens, especially police, in order to

1. Limit the geographical area and the number of persons affected by CV

2. Disperse violent groups

3. Minimize personal injury and property damage

4. Restore the rule of law and the value of order

5. Minimize the probability of the recurrence of CV.

INFORMATION REQUIREMENTS FOR PREVENTION AND CONTROL

Police officers gather information on events and trends in the community on a continual basis. Such information, if it has any significance for CV at all, will be applicable to both prevention and control, since police act in a "preventive" capacity even when they are "controlling" a full-scale CV incident. Furthermore, intelligence produced during control operations may be used in preventing future outbreaks of violence. Why, then, is it useful to separate pevention from control at all? The answer focuses on the context in which police operations occur as is described by the following observations:

- Prevention activities are extremely valuable if effective, since control activities presume that some personal injury or property damage is occurring
- Prevention activities include all police actions accomplished in the course of normal police operations
- Prevention operations may address long-run community problems, while control operations focus on one short-run problem—violence—and the need for restoring order
- Many elements of information gathered during times when the local jurisdiction is quiet can be used to plan in advance for control operations
- Control operations require extensive planning and a high level of training
- Control operations demand disciplined, coordinated efforts of police officers working as a team
- Control operations occur in an atmosphere of pressure which magnifies the necessity for rapid gathering, processing and dissemination of intelligence, efficient communication and pre-planned command and control procedures.

Having stated these primary differences between prevention and control operations, it is now appropriate to discuss both types of activities, including their similarities and differences in terms of the elements of information required to support them.

Locations of CV

General Locations. Police know from long experience the general neighborhoods that have presented the threat of CV in the past. Through constant monitoring and analysis of tension indicators (i.e., public opinion and social and economic conditions), police can identify other potentially troublesome areas.

The relationship of likely CV areas to the entire jurisdiction must also be considered. An incident of CV in a small area, for example, may affect traffic flows in a much larger area of the jurisdiction. Furthermore, the whole jurisdiction must be considered in terms of its closeness to other jurisdictions where persons known to favor violence reside. Clearly, then, police planning and action relative to CV control must extend beyond the boundaries of the areas in which violence actually occurs.

Particular Locations. Within the neighborhoods which present a general threat of CV, certain locations may be identified as important. These places may be considered as three types.

- Areas where crowds are regularly present. Taverns, pool halls, threatres, housing projects, college student unions. These areas commonly attract large numbers of people for recreation and other social functions. The potential for CV increases, especially when criminal operatives, political dissidents, youth gangs and juveniles frequent these places.

- Areas when crowds assemble less often. Public parks, government building, college quadrangles, business establishments (such as banks and factories), sports stadiums and open fields are sometimes centers of social and political activity. Political demonstrations and protests, labor picketing, and "rock concerts" usually occur at or near these places.

- Areas which may become targets of CV. Police can identify potential targets, primarily through intelligence activities, but sometimes from public announcements from dissidents themselves. Government buildings (especially defense facilities), police stations, public utilities, etc., have been targets. After widespread CV has broken out, liquor, grocery, clothing, appliance and furniture stores may become targets.

Location Characteristics. Police also consider the ways that the characteristics of locations affect control operations. Each neighborhood will present a number of hiding places for persons and weapons and perches for snipers, and some buildings may affect radio transmissions.

Reasons for CV

Historical trends, the social and economic environment, the physical environment and competition for leadership contribute to increasing the potential for CV.

Historical Trends. Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, Indian-Americans, Orientals, and other minorities are attempting as groups to make social and economic progress. They raise the level of tension among their own group by recalling their heritage as victims of persecution and oppression.

Although many people agree that minority groups should seek social and economic improvement, many also disagree with the way in which the minority groups work. Individuals and groups take action to oppose the minority group movements. They often use racial or ethnic stereotypes to fortify their opposition to the emerging minority groups. These stereotypes and the actions taken by the opposition groups raise the level of tension further and increase the potential for violence.

A third important historical trend is the fact that police departments are improving in many ways, but the attitudes of people toward police is changing less rapidly. In some areas, among some groups, the police of today represent all the mistakes which police have made in the past.

Social and Economic Environment. In urban areas, people often feel and are victimized by merchants, politicians and police. Especially in slum areas, the whole "system" seems to prey on the people. Poverty brings ignorance and illness—which breed more poverty. All kinds of criminals—drug pushers, robbers, burglars, loan sharks, extortionists, pimps, con men, etc.—all seem to thrive in the poor areas. The merchants are endangered by crime and bad debts, so they raise prices and anger more citizens. The politicians promise rapid social changes, but they seldom deliver. The police seem to bring trouble when they do their job of enforcing the law, but they never seem to enforce the law enough to protect citizens from crime.

On college campuses, the social and economic view is brighter, but the potential for violence can be just as great. Unlike a community, a college population is a very select group. Everyone is young, wanting to have fun, wanting to impress each other, wanting to find a way to make a living and possibly improve society. They want to assert their independence from parents and from other authorities. They want to demonstrate that they have their own ideas, their own interests, their own "life style."

As S. I. Hayakawa, President of San Francisco State College, has pointed out, college students are very good with words. Ability with words got them into college in the first place. Words enabled them to score high marks on high school tests and entrance exams. At college, students learn about life mostly through words—in books, in classrooms, in rap sessions, in rallies. Soldiers know about war and its horror because they have seen it in terms of jungle, rain, bullets and blood. Students see the same things—in words. Poor people know about poverty because they have felt hunger and sickness. They may have seen rats in the kitchen and muggings in the street. Students know these things exist—because they read about them. Police have witnessed crimes and have interviewed criminals. Students read the newspaper reports of crime. In each case students are at a great disadvantage, because events like war, poverty and crime are complex, while words are simple. Consequently, students can gain real knowledge of events without necessarily facing all the difficulties which these events really entail. This is one reason why students are very good at discussing social problems, less good at providing solutions.

The combination of group pressures, youthful enthusiasm, growing knowledge and social impatience can increase the potential for violent action among students. The potential is increased even more when a large number of students on a campus are away from home. If they were arrested in their home towns, they would bring community disgrace on themselves and their families. The campus, on the other hand, may be far away from this social pressure. After college years, students will probably have relatively little contact with the university or the town. Accordingly, students from out-of-town are more willing to participate in potentially violent protests.

Physical Environment. A number of aspects of the physical environment also tend to raise the potential for CV. Apparently unequal public services can cause citizens, especially taxpayers, to become angry. In many areas, citizens are disturbed by the quality of street maintenance, trash collection, fire protection, police services, public transportation and recreation. Especially among tenants in low-income housing areas, dissatisfaction with public enforcement of building codes is deep and vocal. Failure of these public services gives residents the impression that society has physically isolated them in a holding camp for second-rate citizens.

Other aspects of the physical surroundings also increase tension. Crowding and abandoned buildings where rats breed and criminals hide sometimes lead people to think of themselves as helpless victims of "the system." When these physical conditions are removed by "urban renewal," the local environment actually becomes worse, at least temporarily. The demolition and re-construction of buildings, or the construction of highways and rapid transit facilities further disrupts the area, often without consideration of area residents. When new facilities, such as super-highways or

railways are completed, they become boundaries between communities. Those "on the other side of the tracks" may be depressed or feared. All of these physical conditions extend the potential for violent actions by residents.

Leadership Competition. The existence of organized political groups does not itself increase the potential for violence. Many groups and their leaders utterly oppose violence. But whenever an extremist group which advocates or condones violence emerges, competition for political leadership begins. The end result may be an increase in the potential for violence among all concerned.

Each group leader seeks political advantage by attracting as much attention as possible. In order to compete with other leaders, politicians tend to make hard, striking, and even outrageous statements which will be spread by the mass media and by word of mouth. These statements, even if completely non-violent, often create tension because they usually promise things which make current society look dismal.

When extremists enter the picture, the whole competition changes. They may actually advocate, incite, or perpetrate violence against society. Even if they only threaten violence repeatedly, they may be eventually forced, to take violent action. Otherwise, they may look foolish before their supporters, and their leadership status may be eroded.

During the control phase of CV operations, police have little opportunity to consider or influence the underlying reasons for violence. Police may be able to assist, however, in establishing meetings between community leaders who can reduce violence and government officials who can directly affect the conditions which led to violence. Furthermore, the fairness with which police control violence will affect the basic feelings of citizens toward police and society in the future.

Information must be collected even while violence is occurring to determing the reasons for continued violent action. The following paragraphs describe some of the reasons for the persistince of violent disturbances which have been reported by police.

a. An organized group, devoted to violence for its own sake or as an acceptable political tactic, is encouraging the continuation of the incident.

b. An organized group, devoted to a political or social change, is encouraging violence in the belief that it will further their cause.

c. Rumors are creating continuing tension.

d. Persons or groups believe that cases of apparent police misconduct will go unnoticed or unpunished and that "the people" must take their own revenge.

e. The general violence itself provides a mask for personal violent behavior which in "normal" times is prohibited by the customs and social pressures of the community.

f. Opportunities for looting or "rip-offs" encourage individuals to take advantage of the situation.

Time Considerations in CV

Collective violence can occur at any time, but police experience has shown that the potential for violence increases at the following times.

a. On Weekends. Time off from work means that people are free to gather in the streets. Since paydays are often on Fridays, many people have a surplus of cash on weekends. Weekend evenings are traditional times for drinking and recreation for many people. This leads to crowds, police involvement with traffic and other illegal actions, and perhaps, carless behavior by people "having fun."

b. During Hours of Darkness. Darkness provides a mask for vandals and persons intent on violent crimes such as arson to hide behind. People can shout at police, throw bottles and rocks or break into store fronts much more easily in the dark than during daylight hours. Crowds partially obscure the identities of individuals. At night, persons in a large group become almost anonymous.

c. After the Public Arrest (especially when physical coercion is necessary) of a Member of the Community. This may lead from charges of police brutality, to the formation of crowds, and finally to violence.

d. After or During Collective Violence in Other Areas of the City or Country. Most experts believe that the city riots of the 1960's were partially contagious. When dissident citizens of one city saw riots occurring elsewhere, they started "sympathy" demonstrations or riots in their own area. The best example of this kind of behavior was the widespread violence which followed the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. in April 1968.

e. After or During Local, National or International Events in Which Groups Have a Clear Interest. Spectacular incidents other than collective violence may become the occasion for CV. The treatment of Jews in the Soviet Union, the United States incursion into Cambodia and other events have produced a collectively violent response among some groups. Such events are of great concern to many people, and consequently they receive extensive coverage in the media. Certain groups, such as militant American Jews or militant students may respond to these incidents with violence or with mass action which increases the potential for violence.

f. After or During Political Meetings or Demonstrations. Although they have been less frequent recently, mass political meetings and demonstrations are part of American life, and in most cases are non-violent.

The time of an outbreak can also have important effects on CV control efforts. Nightfall, rush hour traffic, convention or spectator crowds, groups of people leaving taverns at closing times—all of these exert extra pressures on police if violence breaks out at these times.

During the control phase, the most important aspect of time involves the rapidity with which police move from their normal operations, which emphasize individual decisiveness, to a CV control mode, which stresses disciplined, coordinated team effort.

The changeover to control operations is somewhat aided by the tendency of CV outbreaks to develop over a period of time. Prevention operations provide much information upon which decisions can be based during the control phase. Even the "triggering event" in a CV situation sometimes precedes overt violence by hours or even days. In the period between the first clear indication of violence and a large-scale outbreak, police can begin to execute control plans while intensifying preventive efforts as well.

Persons Involved in CV

The members of the community who are involved in CV and are of interest to law enforcement agencies include both those who are participating and those who are opposing the violence.

Participants in CV. The persons who may produce or participate in violence are listed here based on the level of their probable threat, and are described by the behavior which may indicate their potential danger.

- Persons may come to the area from outside for the purpose of confronting the police in the streets or for the purpose of committing another illegal act such as a bombing.
- Local groups may advocate violence and death for police, especially when these groups are fighting within themselves. Such groups are generally involved with isolated bombings and killings. They participate in mass violence only when the costs to them are low and the benefits high.
- Local individuals may have demonstrated animosity toward police or society and seek public support for their position.
- Ambitious political activists may attempt to gather large crowds in order to attract attention to their cause or to themselves.
- Juvenile gang leaders and members may try to draw attention to themselves.
- Group leaders may become convinced that collective violence is the correct way or at least an acceptable way to achieve benefits for the group. These leaders may hold their position of leadership because of their material wealth in the midst of poverty, because they have achieved material success in the past or simply because they can act effectively as spokesmen for their groups (they need not be clergymen, club presidents or student body officers). They may even be involved in gambling, prostitution or more serious crimes and are leaders because they have expressed interest in group advancement. The group they represent may be as large as a whole race or class, or simply the "regulars" at the tavern or pool hall.
- Any other person may decide that his background and beliefs do not prohibit collective violence for the sake of personal or supposed community gain.

Opponents of CV. Since the prevention of CV is a relatively long-run effort, many citizens can be recruited by police to support programs that will reduce tension in the community.

Any person who has a clear interest in preserving the community or in frustrating those who seek violence can help. Even criminal operatives and political extremists may help to prevent violence if they can see that peace, at least temporarily, is in their best interests. More often, assistance to police in preventing CV will come from community action leaders, local businessmen, religious leaders, youth groups, and administrators of health, welfare, housing and education programs. Representatives of the mass media can also be very helpful.

During the control phase, police must determine who has actually become involved in participating in CV. These persons will include all those who have fostered, planned or committed acts of violence—perhaps to achieve a goal—and other citizens who have joined in the violence for their own reasons.

Groups and individuals must be identified, as well as their addresses and vehicles. The number of persons who are participating must also be estimated since police employ formations and tactics which are suited to crowd size. The number of participants will also indicate whether reserve forces should be readied or deployed.

An accurate assessment of who is involved may be hindered by two factors.

a. The sudden, apparently unorganized nature of many large civil disorders may disguise the characteristics of the groups and individuals involved.

b. Police may encounter difficulty in attempts to infiltrate groups who advocate violence; even though such infiltration may be necessary for the purpose of obtaining information concerning the triggering and sustaining of civil disorders. Infiltration is considered the single most effective way to determine who is involved in a violent event.

Assistance for police control operations is likely to come first from individuals or groups who attempted to help police in preventing CV. In some localities, active community relations boards—with many contacts in the community—have supplemented the police in taking rapid action to effectively control efforts. Members of such boards as well as other citizens can be asked to help, if circumstances permit, by taking direct action, especially in rumor control and other community relations efforts. It should be emphasized that the use of community resources can serve to prevent unfounded accusations of arbitrary police action or police brutality following the CV incident.

Types of CV Events

CV events and events which have been included in CV in the past consist of bombings, ambushes, shoot-outs, demonstrations, strikes and crowds. After any of these events has produced widespread violence or other illegal activity, they may be referred to as riots or mobs. It should be stressed that many demonstrations, strikes and crowds are completely legal gatherings in which police activity is devoted both to the protection of life and property and the guarantee of rights of free speech and assembly. Thus, these events should not be viewed beforehand as essentially violent, although each should be reviewed in terms of its potential for causing or providing the setting for violent activity.

Bombings may be the result of conspiracies, although some have been carried out by individuals. Bombings and ambushes usually require extensive planning and secrecy. Shoot-outs appear to be the result of general plans which can be enacted at any time, usually against police.

Demonstrations vary greatly in size and are organized in support or protest of government or institutional policies. Although most demonstrations are legal and intended to be peaceful, violence may develop within them on a small- or large-scale. Some demonstrations, furthermore, are essentially illegal, such as traffic disruption or the occupation of public or private buildings. A very small number of demonstrations have been not only illegal, but intentionally violent.

Strikes have the same characteristics as demonstrations, except that they are undertaken by persons who are very well organized (over many years, perhaps) and usually involve action of specific labor groups against specific business organizations or public service agencies.

Crowds vary greatly in size and usually are disorganized. Violence in crowds is usually not planned, and is small-scale, although it may grow.

Ways in Which CV Occurs

Actions which are most likely to require police action are listed in the following paragraphs in the order of their urgency.

Planned violence may be organized by individuals or groups against persons or property, especially against groups of persons. The bombing or burning of buildings, ambushes and ritual murders can be considered in this category which takes first priority for police preventive action.

Planned confrontations with police or confrontations with groups of citizens may occur. These will require police action to restore traffic flow or public order.

Spontaneous formation of groups of citizens to protest police action may follow public arrests. Whether the police action was correct or mistaken, crowds may react violently. Thus, in every case when arrests or other police work leads to spontaneous confrontation between police and groups, prompt action is required to prevent violence.

Crowds may grow or move beyond the limits of police capability to protect lives and property. This requires direct intervention by police to provide for orderly crowd growth and direct movement. When police intervention occurs, a confrontation between citizens and police can develop, and violence may result.

Violent reaction to the words of speakers or violent acts incited by speakers may occur at meetings and rallies. Potentially inflammatory speech, although protected from abridgment by the First Amendment, is reason for police to prepare to take action to prevent violence.

Tension may grow within a group in a place where potential for violence is high. This may occur, for example when performers fail to appear for concerts, and at athletic contests which excite feelings of participants.

If violence actually begins to occur, a virtually limitless number of different violent acts may be performed. Some of the most significant actions which have been reported by police include those in the following list.

- Threats to life are posed by snipers, arsonists, and persons with incendiary and explosive bombs.
- Fire and explosive also threaten real property.
- Rioters attempt to destroy police vehicles with fire or other means.
- Violent persons throw a wide variety of missiles at police and other passers by, both in vehicles and on foot.
- Large or small groups attempt to break through police lines by force.
- Barricades are built to hinder traffic flow and to conceal and cover persons who are throwing missiles or sniping.
- Vandals break windows and may attempt to loot retail business stores or warehouses.

- Non-violent militants illegally block streets and building entrances or occupy buildings or offices. Although these acts are not violent in themselves, violence often results when police attempt to remove these persons who are breaking the law.

OUTLINE OF THE REMAINDER OF THIS VOLUME

Chapter II consists of introductory notes for the personnel for whom the volume was prepared. Chapters III, IV, V, and VI are entitled Planning, Training, Operations, and Evaluation, respectively. Relative to each of these activities, each chapter discusses the information which police require in support of decisions regarding both prevention and control of CV. Within each chapter, prevention and control guidelines are listed separately. Prevention and control guidelines are further broken down into categories based upon six essential intelligence elements:

- Locations of CV
- Reasons for CV
- Time Considerations in CV
- Persons Involved in CV
- Types of CV Events, and
- Ways in Which CV Occurs.

A similar format has been used in all the volumes of this series: Volume I, Chief of Police; Volume II, Community Relations Personnel; Volume III, Intelligence Personnel; Volume IV, Patrol Commander; and Volume V, Patrol Personnel.

II. INTRODUCTORY NOTES FOR PATROL PERSONNEL

With regard to CV, patrol officers bear the brunt of clear and open threats to the peace. Because of the nature of their law enforcement duties, individual officers must, periodically, take effective action in situations which have the potential for violence. After violence has broken out, it will be the patrol officers who are most likely to become the first targets of verbal abuse and physical assault.

Because of these aspects of the patrol officer's assignment, he knows firsthand the real problems of dealing with tension. Accordingly, patrol personnel can provide a positive input to police planning and training by outlining the practical needs of patrol personnel. Similarly, patrol officers can provide personal evaluations of training, equipment and procedures which the department has adopted for prevention and control of CV.

Patrol officers perform, to some degree, duties which are similar to those of intelligence and community relations personnel. Readers of this volume may be interested in the guidelines included in other volumes of this series, especially Volume II, Community Relations Personnel and Volume III, Intelligence Personnel.

III. PLANNING

Planning for prevention consists of all analyses and decisions undertaken by police to prepare operations which will reduce tension among normally nonviolent persons and to interrupt the potentially violent activities of persons who see violence as necessary or acceptable. Planning efforts include identification of needs, organization of action groups, formulation of prevention strategies, generation of tactics, selection and purchase of equipment and materials, and recruitment and training of personnel. Specific CV planning supplements a variety of police general orders, regulations and procedures which are inherent in routine police operations.

Planning for control includes all of the steps of planning for prevention, but is oriented toward preparing operations to restore order rapidly and to decrease the likelihood of further violence. Planning for control emphasizes the development of standard procedures which can be exercised swiftly and coordinated effectively. A recommended product of planning for control is an Emergency Operations Manual which prescribes Personnel, Intelligence, Operations, Logistics and Command and Control practices to be used during violent incidents. This manual is supported by all other police planning documents and procedures which are used by police during periods when CV is not occurring.

PLANNING FOR PREVENTION

Potential Locations of CV

1. Respond to all questions from the patrol commander concerning political, social and economic problems you have observed in certain areas of the jurisdiction in which you work.

2. Think of ways that a policeman on patrol is threatened by these problems, how the threats can be reduced, how changes in police procedures might help to reduce the threats and even reduce the problems. Suggest these to the patrol commander, or to community relations personnel.

Reasons for CV Prevention

3. One of the most effective ways of preventing collective violence is to try to understand the community and its problems. If there is poverty, why does it continue? If racism, why? Why do youths join gangs? Thinking about these and similar questions may help you do your job better.

4. Prejudice against individuals because they belong to certain groups is a problem which has led to violence all over the world. War in India and Pakistan, rebellion in Northern Ireland, and city and campus violence in America have been fostered by prejudice. Without any knowledge at all, some people call all policemen "pigs." Some policemen, without any knowledge of individuals with long hair, refer to all such persons as "hippies"--or worse. Police can begin to reduce this problem by trying to eliminate their own prejudices.

5. Many police departments, all universities and colleges, and some high schools offer programs in community relations, human relations, sociology and other courses related to human behavior. Police can begin to eliminate prejudice and improve their ability to prevent collective violence by participating in these courses. Some departments can afford to pay for the courses. Some schools have special funding arrangements for policemen.

Times When CV May Occur

6. Inform the patrol commander, intelligence personnel or community relations officers of upcoming events in the community as discussed with citizens while on duty or with family members and acquaintances off duty. Information obtained during informal or friendly contacts may be of potential value to your superiors.

Persons Who May be Involved in CV

7. Watch the newspapers and other media and listen to citizens in the community to identify various potentially violent individuals and groups that may be encountered during regular patrols. The more that policemen on the street know about such persons and groups, the better is the chance that policemen can talk them out of causing disruption.

PLANNING FOR CONTROL

Although many of the prevention guidelines (above) are clearly applicable to control planning as well, the following discussion specifically oriented to control planning should be considered.

Planning for control consists primarily of three major steps: (1) the development of a set of written operational procedures for use by the local department during crowd control and CV (these written procedures will be referred to as the Emergency Operations Manual and Plan); (2) the institution of a mutual aid arrangement with other nearby law enforcement agencies; and (3) the desing of a centralized, well equipped command center. Many police departments have achieved success with these three steps. Patrol personnel can support the planning effort by providing to their commander the kind of information discussed in the following guidelines.

Locations of CV

8. Become familiar with the areas of the local jurisdiction that are likely sites for CV. Learn street names, locations of key structures, and potential hiding places for weapons and violent persons.

Reasons for CV

9. Try to imagine yourself in the position of having to control violence which arises from specific kinds of controversies. Think of ways that you can develop your ability to deal with all kinds of violence with the same professional attitude.

IV. TRAINING

Training for the prevention of CV consists of all efforts to prepare police for preventive operations. Training familiarizes police with underlying causes of tension in the community with local groups which exploit or increase tension, the ways in which violence develops, and the times and places where CV may occur. The goal of training is to prepare officers to recognize and reduce tension, detect approaching violence and thwart the attempt of individuals or groups to commit violence. Training for prevention of CV can be incorporated into police recruit training, and it can be given as supplemental training to experienced officers. A large number of universities, colleges and adult evening schools also support police training for prevention of CV with courses in the fields of sociology, psychology, and economics.

Although police at higher ranks may have a high level of professional expertise, opportunities for in-service or school training in both prevention and control of CV should be made available whenever time and budgetary constraints permit. Advances in law enforcement techniques are occurring at a rapid rate, and the problems which police are asked to address are increasing in number and complexity. In such an environment, all officers are likely to benefit from training.

TRAINING FOR PREVENTION

Potential Locations of CV

1. Remind newly assigned police officers, especially new patrolmen, to be cautious in areas of the jurisdiction which experience has shown to be potentially violent.

Reasons for CV Potential

2. Develop the habit of eliciting the views of other police officers on reasons why groups or individuals are hostile to police or other citizens. Since each policeman is different, each has a unique contribution to make to such discussions.

Persons Who May be Involved in CV

3. Remind other patrol personnel that certain groups and individuals are hostile to police, that others are willing to help, and that most people, if accorded dignified treatment, will not attempt to obstruct lawful police action.

Ways in Which CV May Develop

4. Provide to training personnel and/or trainees examples from experience of antagonistic behavior of members of crowds. Describe to them how reports and correct police action have worked to prevent or effectively control violence.

TRAINING FOR CONTROL

Training for control consists of familiarizing police personnel with the Emergency Operations Manual and exercising the instructions contained in the Manual until proficiency is achieved. Police also require familiarity with various types of crowd control formations and with the kinds of threats which may be encountered during a violent incident. As opposed to training for daily police work which emphasizes individual judgment and action, training for CV control stresses coordinated, disciplined team work. Training in conjunction with other law enforcement agencies who are components of a mutual aid plan may be required. Some departments have provided special training for a small number of personnel sometimes called a "Tactical Patrol Force." Training for control may also be supplemented by courses such as the Civil Disturbance Orientation Course (CDOC) given by the U.S. Army at Ft. Gordon, Georgia.

Locations of CV

5. During training sessions and roll-call briefings, pay special attention to determining where CV is likely to spread. Use special precautions when in these areas—see "Operations for Prevention", page 5-2.

Persons Involved in CV

6. Learn to identify specific individuals or groups of individuals who frequent your patrol area. This skill will enable you in a CV situation to provide command personnel with information on who is involved in the activity.

7. Learn the names, uniforms, characteristics and members' identity, when possible, of groups that are likely to become involved in CV. Each group has different rules and standards of behavior. Police knowledge of opponents will increase police ability to anticipate violence, and the use of firearms and other weapons.

V. OPERATIONS

Operations for prevention of CV include all efforts by police or encouraged by police to detect and reduce tension and to repel attempts at initiating violence. These operations include community relations, press relations, information collection, verification, processing and dissemination, street patrol, crowd control and various types of community services. Although some extraordinary actions may be required to prevent CV, most preventive efforts are part of daily police work.

Operations for control includes the deployment, movement, command, control and support of police officers to end violence, protect persons and property, restore order and preclude the recurrence of violence. During control operations, patrol, intelligence, community relations and command functions focus on curtailing violence while continuing to perform law enforcement and other services outside of the area of violence.

OPERATIONS FOR PREVENTION

Potential Locations of CV

1. In areas of potential violence, be especially careful to report all actions, even routine actions, accurately and fully. The exact locations and the reasons for police actions are most important. When stopping a car for speeding, the liscence number and description of the car are noted. From the description of the car, for example, the patrol commander or intelligence personnel may know that the driver is known to be dangerous to policemen.

2. When taking action, such as making an arrest in a crowded area, be prepared to receive verbal abuse and complaints from bystanders. Although these comments are unfair and distasteful, they seldom indicate that physical violence is about to begin. In an area that has a high potential for violence, policemen can do their best work by listening to abuse, noting who is saying it, and pushing on with the task at hand. Attempting defense or retaliation against the shouts of the crowd is almost always useless and distracting and may actually increase the potential for violence.

3. Report all incidents of verbal abuse (or attempted physical abuse) to the patrol commander. If a number of such incidents take place in an area, the patrol commander may suggest that more police attention, especially community relations efforts, be devoted to the area. Try to give the location and identity of the people who were offering the complaints or abuse. The words they used, or the clothes they wore, may also be important, because political groups often talk a "party line" or wear a distinctive uniform.

4. Any information that is too voluminous to be reported over the radio should be turned in at the end of the shift. Although time always puts pressure on police report writing, the importance of reporting all information from potentially violent areas cannot be overemphasized.

5. If you are uncertain of potentially important information, or if security of information is an important consideration, use a regular telephone to report. Misinformation or highly volatile information can lead to rumors which may increase the potential for violence, since many newspapers and private citizens monitor police calls.

6. When the presence of a bomb is suspected in any area, report it over the telephone in order to maintain the security of the information. Also, bombs can be designed to explode when they receive a signal transmitted on the police radio frequency.

6. Make extra contact with citizens whenever possible, especially in areas with high violence potential. In conversation with you, they will often reveal their feelings about what is wrong with police and other public services in the area.

7. Make a list of the most violence-prone buildings, street corners, and blocks in the patrol area. Check on these places repeatedly. Report any new information about these places to intelligence personnel.

8. Be watchful for trash piling up around or behind buildings and construction sites and for the accumulation of bricks and other materials on roofs. Piles of trash can be used in a violent situation as a means of starting fires. Abandoned cars can be used for the same purpose. The trash and bricks can also be picked up and thrown at cars and police. Report to community relations personnel the location of any such debris.

9. Provide community relations personnel with all information about trouble spots in violence-prone areas. Community relations can often neutralize the trouble spots and make the policeman's job safer and the potential for violence lower.

10. Respond to requests from community relations officers or from citizens to meet with citizen organizations in high tension areas. This helps the people to understand policemen. It also enables policemen to identify persons in the community who are trying to help police or at least trying to understand them. Such citizens may prove very helpful in preventing a minor incident from becoming a major outbreak of violence.

11. Make frequent inquiries of filling stations in potentially violent neighborhoods for any increase in individuals buying gasoline in containers.

Reasons for CV Potential

12. Note the development of groups of people on streets, playgrounds, at entrances to buildings, etc. As part of routine patrol, try to find out why the group has gathered. Stop and talk to some members of the group and listen very carefully to what they say. When the reason for the gathering of the crowd is known, take appropriate action. Report to patrol commander.

13. When responding to a call for assistance from another officer or from citizens in a crowd, exercise caution when arriving at the scene. Find out exactly what is going on and why you were called before taking action. Uninformed action has contributed to the development of CV in some cases.

14. Make citizen contacts whenever possible. Continual demonstration of police interest in the community will improve the image of the department. Try to understand the viewpoint of the citizens toward the police and society. Although you may disagree with this viewpoint, your understanding of the people will help you every day, especially when the potential for violence increases.

15. Those who oppose the police, the law and civility will try to taunt the police into overreacting. Usually, they are trying to show off their "courage," "toughness," or "militance" in front of their friends. By listening to them, and talking with them, police provide each person with a chance to strengthen his position within his own group.

Times When CV May Develop

16. Be aware that CV can break out at any time, especially when a crowd has gathered on weekend nights.

17. Inform the patrol commander whenever you make, or plan to make, an arrest in a crowd. Always be prepared to call for help whenever you are uncertain that your actions alone will be sufficient to handle the situation.

Persons Who May be Involved in CV

18. Inform the patrol commander of the names of persons whom citizens identify as members of potentially violent groups. Never assume that the police department already knows about these people.

19. Know the names and faces of as many members of potentially (or actually) violent groups as possible. Although these people must be treated as fairly as other citizens, exercise extreme caution when dealing with them. They may physically attack policemen, attempt to draw them into a shoot-out, or they may try to provoke police to unrestrained action—especially in crowded areas.

Events Which May Lead to CV

20. Don't act as if every crowd is going to turn into a mob. A policeman who acts in a calm professional manner in a crowd (even a hostile one) helps to break down the anti-police prejudice which some people may have.

21. If you observe any violence, report it as accurately as possible. Describe the numbers of people involved, where they acted, where they went, and what they did.

Ways in Which CV May Develop

22. Because the police response to CV requires a disciplined team effort, the more that individuals or groups seem to be tending toward violence, the more the officer on patrol must prepare himself to shift from the role of individual policeman to the role of police team member.

23. When observing crowds, watch for small groups attempting to block foot or vehicular traffic. Others may be attempting to break windows. Others may be throwing rocks, bottles or sticks. Any of these actions, especially those involving property damage and missile-throwing, can lead directly to violence. Report them as quickly as possible.

OPERATIONS FOR CONTROL

The control phase, in general, consists of implementing the Emergency Operations Plan and Manual, the Mutual Aid Plan, when necessary, and the operation of the Emergency Operations Center.

For patrol personnel, the control phase involves applying many of the procedures and tactics learned during training. Patrol personnel should, in addition to performing their assigned duties, be alert to the kind of information described in the following guidelines.

Locations of CV

24. Inform patrol commander of places that may require additional coverage, i.e., where additional or renewed outbreaks are occurring.

Reasons for CV

25. Listen to determine why CV is occurring. Do not evaluate the validity of the citizens' grievances. Right or wrong, they are the reasons the individuals are acting in a violent, illegal way.

26. It is important that precise information be passed up through the channels. Report exactly what you heard or saw.

27. Don't underestimate your own opinions with regard to the "why" of CV in an area. Don't forget that you may know the people and the neighborhood better than any other law enforcement officer. However, when you relate an opinion or a hunch, be sure that it's clearly identified as your interpretation, not a fact.

28. Attempt to determine why individuals are participating actively in active CV events. Look for individuals who are encouraged by the anonymity offered by the crowd—those with a "mob attitude." Such individuals may do things that they would not normally do. If possible, let them know that you have spotted them personally. Also look for individuals who are motivated by the possible economic gain from looting in the situation.

Persons Involved in CV

29. Find out who is actively involved in the on-street activity and estimate how many individuals are involved. Report their descriptions (and names, if known) to the patrol commander.

30. Identify individuals who tend not to participate in the violent activities. This type may be important in assisting control operations. Tell the patrol commander.

Ways in Which Violence Occurs

31. Report to your commander the exact nature of group and individual activities in the troubled area(s). Are groups merely milling about, or do they seem to be moving toward a building or toward other persons who may become targets of an assault? Look and listen carefully. Information of this type is vital.

VI. EVALUATION

This section will discuss ways in which patrol personnel can support the Chief of Police in conducting assessments of prevention and control actions. Evaluation is undertaken to determine how well police are conforming with prescribed procedures and how effective their actions are. Inadequacies will indicate the need for an increase or reordering of operations.

Each policeman, including the Chief, should make an evaluation of his own performance. Any inadequacies should be identified, with no implication of fault or guilt necessary. Supervisory and command personnel should also evaluate the capabilities of their subordinates without implying the necessity of assessing blame or prescribing punishment. Improvement in performance is the primary objective of evaluation.

EVALUATION OF PREVENTION

Evaluation of any preventive activity in CV is always difficult, because when problems do not become acute, there is usually little solid evidence that CV would have occurred if police had not intervened effectively. The evaluation criteria listed below, therefore, are numerous, and although each is related to tension in the community, estimates of a small number of them will probably suffice for evaluation of the prevention activities of most departments.

Recently, many departments have developed and implemented "Management Information Systems (MIS)." These systems, which emphasize rapid storage, retrieval and dissemination of accurate data, would be very compatible with the evaluation criteria mentioned below.

Suggested Evaluation Criteria

1. When violence does not occur at the scene of a crowd, patrol personnel performance may be judged successful if:
    a. Patrol personnel followed orders of patrol commander and maintained discipline and personal dignity
    b. Patrol personnel maintained orderly and timely communication with each other and with command personnel.

2. In order to appraise the ability of the department to detect rising tension, the following information is required:
    a. The number of community leaders with whom police community relations officers have contact, especially in dangerous areas
    b. The number of community leaders who refuse to assist police
    c. The number of community leaders who encourage others to thwart police efforts
    d. The ability of patrol personnel to perform their law enforcement role without denying their own dignity or that of citizens.

3. The attitudes and behavior of citizens in dealing with police indicate to some extent the effectiveness of attempts by police and other citizens to reduce tension in the community.

Some of the indicators of citizens attitude which police can estimate directly are:

a. Number of physical attacks on policemen in view of other citizens (in a year or month)

b. Number of physical attacks on police vehicles or other property

c. Number of reported cases of resistance to arrest

d. Number of reports of police brutality (accurate reports, reports that are exaggerated because of emotion, reports that are inaccurate and deliberate lies)

e. Number of anti-police demonstrations

f. Number of physical attacks on other public servants (especially firemen) or employees of utilities, or on their vehicles or property

g. Number of citizens who support activity or participate in the activities of groups who preach hatred of police or of other groups

h. Number of instances of verbal abuse of police in the performance of their duties or as private citizens.

4. Some other measures will be ambiguous. It may be difficult to separate increased indications of trouble from the increased willingness of people to help police by reporting. Some examples of ambiguous responses from the people are:

a. Number of complaints made to police about public services. These may indicate greater dissatisfaction with local government. On the other hand, increased reporting may also indicate improved reliance on the police and on local government to correct local conditions.

b. Number of youths who ask for police help, especially in schools, in order to solve personal problems or to reduce the severity of criminal prosecution for minor offenses. Increases in this number are probably a favorable indication because they imply that the police are gaining the confidence of youth.

c. Number and intensity of rumors reported to police. These should be expected to increase when a rumor control center is established. Thereafter, the number of rumors should level off until tension increases.

Potential Locations of CV

5. Evaluate each area covered during patrol to determine if any problems exist for policemen, and if police-community relationship is improving, or worsening. Think of ways that progress might be made, perhaps by acquiring new equipment or developing new methods.

6. Report your evaluation to the patrol commander when requested.

Reasons for CV Potential

7. Evaluate personal success in attempting to understand the basic problems of the patrol area. What would improve this understanding? Would citizen contact help? Do you deal effectively with persons of all races, ethnic groups and age groups and with social "drop-outs"? What would be the first thing you would like to do to improve your performance in neighborhoods that are somewhat threatening to police? Consider acquiring new skills through training, different equipment (such as a teletype in a patrol car) or working with other police in pairs or teams.

8. Estimate changes you have noticed over the last year or six months in areas that you have covered on patrol. Are citizens becoming more interested in helping the police to fight crime or to improve traffic safety? Are the people less afraid of crime? Have gangs or other groups that favor violence declined in membership or activity? Do the people seem to be more satisfied that the local government is trying to provide good education, recreation, sanitation and street maintenance in their neighborhood? If there have been any improvements, how did the police help?

9. Talk all of these questions over with fellow officers as necessary. Your views alone or in combination with others may prove helpful to the whole department.

10. Report your opinions and observations to the patrol commander.

Times When CV May Occur

11. If trouble with crowds or abusive individuals begins to occur frequently in an area, is this communicated to the patrol commander and to other patrol officers? Do patrol officers mention problems of the community to the patrol commander as soon as possible? Are community relations officers kept informed? Some information which may, on its surface, seem unimportant, may be very useful if reported quickly.

12. Report your opinions on these questions to the patrol commander.

Persons Who May be Involved in CV

13. How confident are you that you can recognize groups or persons who may actually attempt to start CV or to attack police in the performance of their duty?

14. Do you know which people, if needed, are likely to help police moderate tension?

15. Do you want or need more detailed information concerning local individuals or groups?

16. Report your evaluation to the patrol commander.

Events Which May Lead to CV

17. Assess your ability to make arrests in crowds and to guard athletic events or any demonstrations that you have worked. What kinds of things are you worried about at those times? Can any new equipment, training, crowd handling or communications techniques reduce your concern?

18. Make your suggestions to the patrol commander.

Ways in Which CV May Develop

19. From your experience, which tactics of potentially violent groups were most difficult to handle? Did you have any knowledge of them ahead of time? Did police deal with them in such a way that CV was prevented? How could you or other officers have improved performance?

20. Report all especially difficult problems to the patrol commander.

EVALUATION OF CONTROL

In cases where very serious incidents of CV occur, evaluation of control operations by agencies outside of the law enforcement community may be necessary. In recent years, the bulk of collective violence has emanated from political issues. In such a context, the community and the entire nation need an in-depth view of the achievements of law enforcement agencies in dealing with CV. Many persons, including members of the mass media, the academic community, legislative bodies, etc., have attempted to produce such evaluations, and police have solicited other studies. Such investigations by persons outside of law enforcement may often assist police, and they may be accomplished by local groups or by persons from outside the jurisdiction. Many experts have worked extensively to understand collective violence, and many other persons representing public opinion, discussion and thought may be available to evaluate serious outbreaks of CV.

Evaluation of control operations, of course, begins while violence is still occurring. Based upon this type of evaluation, the Chief of Police and patrol commanders make decisions concerning the deployment and tactics of control forces. These considerations were mentioned in the "Operations for Control" section of this volume.

The type of evaluation which is discussed below begins after violence has ended and is intended to support decisions concerning changes in the organization, equipment, training and operational procedures of control forces.

The essence of the evaluation which follows control operations is the "after-action" report. This report should be a detailed, overall description of the violence itself, the actions which police and other forces took to end the violence and the level of effectiveness which was achieved. The preparation of this overall report, in some departments, has been assigned to a single high-ranking officer who is then responsible for compiling and supervising reports from patrol, intelligence, community relations and command personnel who were directly involved in control operations. Some departments have made such a task more efficient by instituting a separate evaluation unit—independent of all other operational units. This independent unit is designed to function at all times, but may be particularly important dur ng CV operations when charges of misconduct are often levied against police.

Patrol personnel can support the evaluation process by providing the kind of information discussed in the following guidelines.

Reasons for CV

21. Could you tell why persons were engaged in violence? Were some of them trying to achieve goals which you may share (such as an end to racism), or goals which you may not share (such as revolution)? Did the goals or beliefs of the demonstrators cause you to hold back or overreact? If the reasons which led to the violence reduced the fariness of your police work, consider ways in which you can prepare yourself to do a better job next time.

Persons Involved in CV

22. Were the people who were participating in the violence members of groups with whom you are friendly? Were they members of your age group, your race or ethnic group? Were they members of groups whom you dislike? Regardless of the answers to these questions, your behavior in controlling violence should have been that of a professional policeman doing his duty but not exceeding his authority. If you failed to achieve that standard, consider the kinds of training or procedures which could help you to improve.

23. Notice which tactics, formations and/or police procedures seemed to be ineffective against the various techniques used by the crowds. Note things like police officers' reluctance to act, any tendency to overreact, any confusion, inability to hear or see directional signals from commanders. Present this information when requested by patrol commander. Suggest ideas for improving police performance by training, or by introduction of new procedures or equipment.